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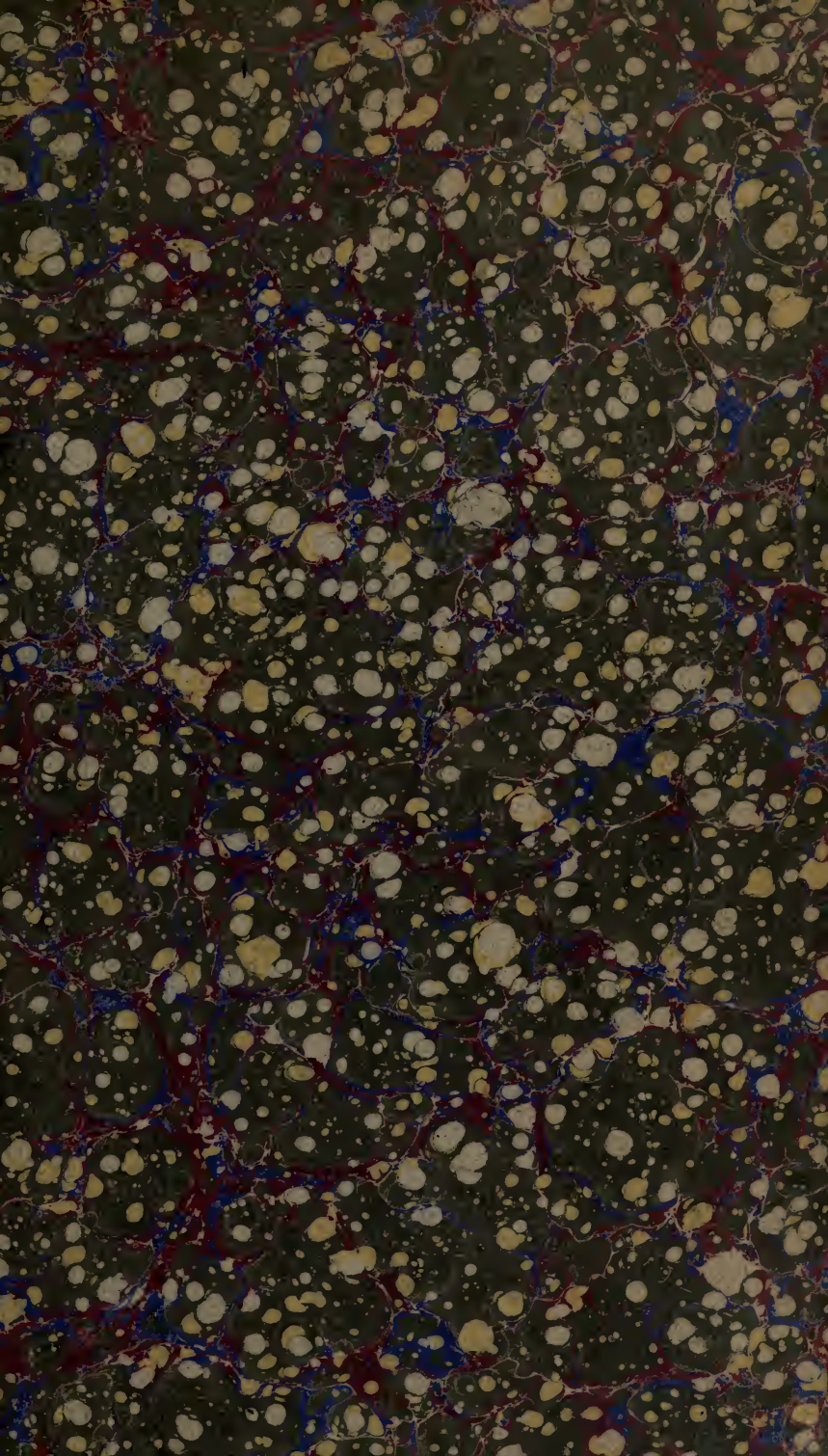
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MILLS BILL.—TARIFF LEGISLATION.



SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.,
OF OHIO,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MAY 18, 1888.

"Absolute freedom of exchange within our own borders and among our own people is the law of the Republic.

"Reasonable taxation and restraint upon those without is the dictate of enlightened patriotism, and the doctrine of the Republican party."

WASHINGTON.

1888.



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Free foreign trade gives our money, our manufactures, and our markets to other nations to the injury of our labor, our trades-people, and our farmers. Protection keeps money, markets, and manufactures at home for the benefit of our own people.

S P E E C H
OF
HON. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.,

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. MCKINLEY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Our country is in an anomalous situation. There is nothing resembling it anywhere else in the world. While we are seeking to find objects to relieve from taxation, in order that we may relieve an overflowing Treasury, other nations are engaged in exploring the field of human production to find new objects of taxation to supply their insufficient revenues. In considering the situation that thus confronts us, and the bill that is presented here as intended to relieve it, it is well that we should understand at the beginning the things upon which all are agreed.

They are, first, that we are collecting more money than is required for the current needs of the Government; and second, that the excess, whatever it may be, beyond the wants of the Government should be left with the people. Our contention, therefore, is upon the manner of the reduction and not upon the reduction itself; not that no reduction shall or ought to be made, but how and upon what principle can it best be accomplished. We agree, further, that the tax upon tobacco shall be removed and thus leave with the people \$30,000,000 which they annually pay upon this domestic product. Were we men of business, governed by the principles which guide practical men of affairs, this burden would have been and could have been removed any time within the past two years, and if removed two years ago no surplus would now vex the Administration or alarm the business of the country. In passing, it is suitable that I should say that within the period named no hinderance from this side of the House would have been interposed to the abolition of this tax.

It is also suitable that I should say, for the sake of the truth of history, that gentlemen on this side and gentlemen on the other side of the House repeatedly made efforts during the last Congress to secure recognition for the purpose of offering a bill to abolish this tax, which request was refused by the presiding officer of the House, and refused, too, Mr. Chairman, when every intelligent representative on this floor knew that if an opportunity was given to vote upon a bill for the abolition of that tax it would have received not simply a majority, but the vote of fully two-thirds of the House. I repeat that if that had been

done, if the House as then organized had given to the representatives of the people an opportunity to vote upon a simple proposition to reduce taxation, no immediate surplus would be now in the Treasury to interrupt and disturb the business of the country. [Applause on the Republican side.]

But this tax was not abolished, and if done now still leaves about forty millions of revenue collected in excess of the public necessity. How can this amount be remitted with the least disturbance to the business and employments of the people?

This, Mr. Chairman, is the real, the practical question. At this point parties and individuals differ, and herein the two lines of political thought which have prevailed from the formation of the Government are clearly manifested, and present for consideration and the ultimate judgment of the people the division between the Republican and Democratic parties upon a purely economic question. I can not forbear, in this connection, to congratulate the country that upon this question our fellow-citizens of all sections and all nationalities, without regard to past party affiliations, unbiased by prejudice, and uninfluenced by passion, can divide. Here is presented an issue which leaves the past behind and looks only to the present and the future, an issue without a tinge or touch of sectionalism, which awakens none of the bitter memories of former discord or divisions, which appeals neither to race nor geographical lines, which knows no North, or South, or East, or West, but brings all within its sweep and contemplation, each dividing upon what each may honestly regard for the best interests and highest welfare of all; an issue which we can consider and discuss calmly and deliberately, having only in view the future of the individual citizen and the highest and best destiny of the Republic. In this spirit I welcome the issue so sharply, and I may say boldly, made by the President in his annual message and now further made by the bill under debate, and approach its consideration with the single purpose to reach if possible a conclusion which shall bring to the country and the whole country, with whose interests we are temporarily intrusted, the widest benefits and the most lasting good. [Applause.]

It will be freely confessed by our political opponents that this bill is but the beginning of a tariff policy marked out by the President, and is a partial response only to his message, to be followed up with additional legislation until our system of taxation shall be brought back to the ancient landmarks of the Democratic party, to a purely revenue basis; that is, that the tariff or duty put upon foreign importations shall hereafter look to revenue and revenue only, and discard all other considerations.

WHAT IS REVENUE TARIFF?

This brings us face to face, therefore, with the two opposing systems, that of a revenue as distinguished from a protective tariff, and upon their respective merits they must stand or fall. Now, what are they? First, what is a revenue tariff? Upon what principle does it rest? It is a tariff or tax placed upon such articles of foreign production imported here as will produce the largest revenue with the smallest tax; or, as Robert J. Walker, late Secretary of the Treasury and author of the tariff of 1846, from whom the advocates of the measure draw their inspiration, put it:

The only true maxim is that which experience demonstrates will bring in each case the largest revenue at the lowest rate of duty, and that no duty be imposed upon any article above the lowest rate which will yield the largest amount of revenue. The revenue (said Mr. Walker), from ad valorem duties last year (1845) exceeded that realized from specific duties, although the average of the

ad valorem duties was only 23.57 per cent. and the average of the specific duties 41.80 per cent., presenting another strong proof that the lower duties increase the revenue.

To secure larger revenue from lower duties necessitates largely increased importations, and if these compete with domestic products the latter must be diminished or find other and distant and I may say impossible markets or get out of the way altogether. A genuine revenue tariff imposes no tax upon foreign importations the like of which are produced at home, or, if produced at home, in quantities not capable of supplying the home consumption, in which case it may be truthfully said the tax is added to the foreign cost and is paid by the consumer.

A revenue tariff seeks out those articles which domestic production can not supply, or only inadequately supply, and which the wants of our people demand, and imposes the duty upon them, and permits as far as possible the competing foreign product to be imported free of duty. This principle is made conspicuous in the bill under consideration; for example, wool, a competing foreign product, which our own flock-masters can fully supply for domestic wants, is put upon the free-list, while sugar, with a home product of only one-eleventh of the home consumption, is left dutiable.

Any tax levied upon a foreign product which is a necessity to our people, and which we can not fully supply, will produce revenue in amount only measured by our necessities and ability to buy. In a word, foreign productions not competing with home productions are the proper subjects for taxation under a revenue tariff, and in case these do not furnish the requisite revenue a low duty is put upon the foreign product competing with the domestic one—low enough to encourage and stimulate importations, and low enough to break down eventually domestic competition. For example, the duty proposed under this bill upon cotton bagging will extinguish the industry here, and under its provisions we would import all of that product from Calcutta and Dundee. A large revenue would come from this source, because the foreign would take the place of the domestic production. This duty is a revenue one, and gives no protection whatever to the home producer. If it did it would not be a revenue tariff. As the Cobden school of political science puts it, "The moment it is made clear that a tax is a benefit to home producers then the free-trade dogma condemns it. The test is simple and easy of application. Free-trade or a revenue tariff does not allow any import duties being imposed on such articles as are likewise produced at home." Or if produced at home a revenue tariff would soon destroy their production.

WHAT IS A PROTECTIVE TARIFF?

What is a protective tariff? It is a tariff upon foreign imports so adjusted as to secure the necessary revenue, and judiciously imposed upon those foreign products the like of which are produced at home or the like of which we are capable of producing at home. [Applause.] It imposes the duty upon the competing foreign product; it makes it bear the burden or duty, and, as far as possible, luxuries only excepted, permits the non-competing foreign product to come in free of duty. Articles of common use, comfort, and necessity which we can not produce here it sends to the people untaxed and free from custom-house exactions. [Applause.] Tea, coffee, spices, and drugs are such articles, and under our system are upon the free-list. It says to our foreign competitor, if you want to bring your merchandise here, your farm products here, your coal and iron ore, your wool, your salt, your pottery, your glass, your cottons and woollens, and sell alongside of our producers

in our markets, we will make your product bear a duty; in effect, pay for the privilege of doing it. [Applause on the Republican side.] Our kind of a tariff makes the competing foreign article carry the burden, draw the load, supply the revenue; and in performing this essential office it encourages at the same time our own industries and protects our own people in their chosen employments. [Applause.] That is the mission and purpose of a protective tariff. That is what we mean to maintain, and any measure which will destroy it we shall firmly resist, and if beaten on this floor we will appeal from your decision to the people, before whom parties and policies must at last be tried. [Applause.] We have free trade among ourselves throughout thirty-eight States and the Territories and among sixty millions of people. Absolute freedom of exchange within our own borders and among our own citizens is the law of the Republic. Reasonable taxation and restraint upon those without is the dictate of enlightened patriotism and the doctrine of the Republican party. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Free trade in the United States is founded upon a community of equalities and reciprocities. It is like the unrestrained freedom and reciprocal relations and obligations of a family. Here we are one country, one language, one allegiance, one standard of citizenship, one flag, one Constitution, one nation, one destiny. It is otherwise with foreign nations, each a separate organism, a distinct and independent political society organized for its own, to protect its own, and work out its own destiny. We deny to those foreign nations free trade with us upon equal terms with our own producers. [Applause.] The foreign producer has no right or claim to equality with our own. He is not amenable to our laws. There are resting upon him none of the obligations of citizenship. He pays no taxes. He performs no civil duties; is subject to no demands for military service. He is exempt from State, county, and municipal obligations. He contributes nothing to the support, the progress, and glory of the nation. Why should he enjoy unrestrained equal privileges and profits in our markets with our producers, our labor, and our tax-payers? Let the gentleman who follows me answer. [Applause.] We put a burden upon his productions, we discriminate against his merchandise, because he is alien to us and our interests, and we do it to protect our own, defend our own, preserve our own, who are always with us in adversity and prosperity, in sympathy and purpose, and, if necessary, in sacrifice. [Applause.] That is the principle which governs us. I submit it is a patriotic and righteous one. In our own country, each citizen competing with the other in free and unresentful rivalry, while with the rest of the world all are united and together in resisting outside competition as we would foreign interference.

Free foreign trade admits the foreigner to equal privileges with our own citizens. It invites the product of foreign cheap labor to this market in competition with the domestic product, representing higher and better paid labor. It results in giving our money, our manufactures, and our markets to other nations, to the injury of our labor, our tradespeople, and our farmers. Protection keeps money, markets, and manufactures at home for the benefit of our own people. [Applause on the Republican side.]

It is scarcely worth while to more than state the proposition that taxation upon a foreign competing product is more easily paid and less burdensome than taxation upon the non-competing product. In the latter it is always added to the foreign cost, and therefore paid by the consumer, while in the former, where the duty is upon the competing

product, it is largely paid in the form of diminished profits to the foreign producer. [Applause.] It would be burdensome beyond endurance to collect our taxes from the products, professions, and labor of our own people.

THE BILL WILL NOT REDUCE THE REVENUE.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this is a bill ostensibly to reduce the revenue. It will not do it. Take from this bill its internal-revenue features, its reduction of twenty-four and a half million dollars from tobacco and from special licenses to dealers in spirits and tobacco, eliminate these from the bill and you will not secure a dollar of reduction to the Treasury under its operation. Your \$27,000,000 of proposed reduction by the free-list will be more than offset by the increased revenues which shall come from your lower duties; and I venture the prediction here to-day that if this bill should become a law, at the end of the fiscal year 1889 the dutiable list under it will carry more money into the Treasury than is carried into the Treasury under the present law, because with every reduction of duties upon foreign imports you stimulate and increase foreign importations; and to the extent that you increase foreign importations, to that extent you increase the revenue.

THE INCONSISTENCIES OF THE BILL.

There is another singular thing in connection with this bill, and I have nowhere seen attention called to it. Now I do not intend to examine the bill item by item. The minority of the Committee on Ways and Means (whose views, on behalf of my political associates I presented) went sufficiently over the bill in detail. But there are a few striking things in the bill which the country ought to understand. No one would have supposed from hearing this discussion but that the bill reduced duties all along the line. You never would have suspected, had you listened to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS], or the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], or the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], or other gentlemen of the Ways and Means Committee, that this bill increased duties, would you? How many men on the other side of the House know what is in this bill to-day? I would like to poll them. [Laughter.]

Now, here is a single item, steel billets. The present duty on steel billets is 45 per cent. ad valorem. In this bill it is increased to \$11 per ton, which is equivalent to 68.33 per cent.—an advance of 45 per cent. Do you know what is made out of these steel billets? Wire fencing, which incloses the great fields of the West; and the raw material is increased 45 per cent. by this bill; and if the principle of the gentlemen who advocate the bill be true, that the duty is added to the cost, every pound of wire fencing that goes to the West will be increased from one-quarter to one-half a cent a pound; all this under a Democratic bill. What else is made out of steel billets? Nails, which everybody uses, which enter into the every-day uses of the people. The duty upon nails is reduced 25 per cent., and the raw material is increased 45 per cent. [Laughter.] As a friend near me suggests, when one end goes up the other goes down; and the latter, I trust, will be the fate of this bill. [Laughter.]

Why, sir, the duty on wire fencing is only 45 per cent. ad valorem; yet the billet from which wire fencing is made must pay in this bill 63 per cent. Here [illustrating] is a piece of wire rod drawn from these steel billets, and which finally goes into fencing. That is dutiable at 45 per cent. under this bill; and the steel from which it is made is dutiable at 63 per cent. What do you think of "raw material

for manufactures? [Laughter.] No account is here taken of the labor required to draw the rods.

But, Mr. Chairman, that is not all which is remarkable about this bill, this great bill which is based upon principle, it is said, which the President stands behind and beneath, and which he insists shall be passed, whether or no, in this House, and for the passage of which he is dispensing official favors; for, as the Post, of this city, says, "there is an Allentown for every SOWDEN." [Laughter and applause.]

What else? Here, for example, are cotton-ties; which present another queer freak in this bill. Everybody knows what cotton-ties are; they are hoop-iron cut into lengths just large enough to go round a bale of cotton. Now, if the Southern cotton-planter wants some of this hoop-iron with which to bale his cotton, he goes to the custom-house at New York or Charleston and cuts off all he wants; and he does not have to pay a cent of duty; but if the farmer-constituent of my friend whosits before me [Mr. NELSON], or your farmer-constituent, want some hoop-iron of precisely the same width and thickness, and goes to the custom-house to get it, the Government makes it pay one cent and a half of duty upon every pound he takes, while it lets the cotton-planter take his for nothing. If the Western farmer wants it for his bucket or his barrel or to go on his wagon-bed, or if the washerwoman wants it for her washtub, every one of these must pay a cent and a half a pound, under the philosophy of the gentlemen who framed this bill, while the cotton-planter gets his absolutely free of duty.

Gentlemen, is that fair? I appeal to Southern men who sit before me; I appeal to Northern Democrats who sit around me; is that fair upon any principle of justice or fair play? Talk about sectionalism! You raise the question in your bill; you make a sectional issue which I deeply regret, and I am sure you must upon serious reflection.

There are some other features in this bill which are a little singular. The proposed duty on white lead is 2 cents a pound, while orange mineral, which is made from white lead, is reduced to one cent and a half a pound. [Laughter.] That is another case of high duty upon raw material and low duty upon the finished product.

Why, what in the world, Mr. Chairman, has this bill done for the people anyhow? What has it done for the farmer? It has taken the duty practically off of everything he grows; I will not stop to give the items. It makes free practically every product of the farm, the forest, and mine.

It takes the duty off of wool. What does it give the grower in return? Does it give him anything free? Everything he buys is dutiable. The coat he wears, the hat that covers his head, his shoes, his stockings, his sugar, his rice, everything bears a duty and substantially everything he raises put on the free-list.

The duty on wool must go. What has this Democratic party given the agriculturists in return for this slaughter of their interests? I have looked this bill up and down, and I will tell you what they have done for the farmer. They have given him free sheep-dip. [Laughter and applause.] Sheep-dip is made free and the duty is released. My distinguished friend from Virginia [Mr. LEE], who honors me with his presence here, knows what this article is. It is a preparation which is used on sheep. It is made up largely of the stems of tobacco. It has got a little sulphur in it, I believe; it has got a little lime in it. They

put that on the free-list, and that is all they do for the farmer [Laughter.]

Mr. HOPKINS. of Illinois. What good is that to the farmer after they have destroyed his flocks?

Mr. McKINLEY. None. They leave the shears he clips his wool with at 45 per cent. ad valorem. They make his wool free and make the farmer pay 45 per cent. for the shears with which he clips his wool. [Laughter.]

But that is not all. The bell, the sheep bell—if my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. RUSSELL] is here, if that golden-shod shepherd from Worcester is here [laughter and applause], he will understand. It is the bell that is put around the neck of the sheep to admonish the shepherd of the whereabouts of the wandering flock under his charge. I am told the gentleman has got on the outside. I learn now he is here in his seat; I am glad to see him. He knows what I am talking about. [Laughter.]

They have left them dutiable at 45 per cent. ad valorem. Why, the sheep even will be ashamed of you, gentlemen. [Laughter.]

Tin plates are made free. What are tin plates made of? Ninety-seven and a half per cent. are sheet-iron or sheet-steel: $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. tin. Tin plates are made free. Sheet-iron, sheet-steel are dutiable at 2 cents a pound. Now, I shall not tax you further with the details of the bill. I might spend hours in pointing out like inconsistencies. I will leave their further discussion for the five-minute debate. I only give these samples so that my honorable and learned friend from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] who replies to me, shall take them up and explain the principle on which these rates are fixed and these duties levied.

Mr. Chairman, there is another thing which I wish to call attention to in connection with this bill, and that is the internal-revenue part of it. It seems to have escaped attention. Now, so far as the abolition of the tax on tobacco is concerned we are all in accord; but this new feature of the bill provides for the repeal of the law which authorizes the destruction of illicit stills when found in unlawful use. Under the present law if you find a man engaged in unlawful distilling, not having paid the tax or secured the license, the officer is authorized to go and destroy the whole outfit. This bill repeals that section of the law and provides that the still shall neither be mutilated nor destroyed, but preserved presumably for future violations of the law. [Laughter and applause.]

And in this bill further provision is made that in case a man is arrested for illicit distilling, the judge is charged especially with the duty of looking well to his comfort and to his well-being while he is in the custody of the officials of the law. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

That provision does not apply to any other class of criminals under any of our statutes; but if a man is engaged in violating the revenue laws he must be tenderly looked after by the judge, who is directed to see that he is in every way made comfortable while serving out his sentence in prison. [Renewed laughter on the Republican side.]

THE VICIOUS AD VALOREM SYSTEM INTRODUCED IN BILL.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there is one leading feature of this bill, which is not by any means the most objectionable feature, but which, if it stood alone, ought to defeat this entire measure; and that is the introduction of the ad valorem system of assessment to take the place of the

specific system now generally in force. You all know the difference between the ad valorem system and the specific mode of levying duties. One is based upon value, the other upon quantity. One is based upon the foreign value, difficult of ascertainment, resting in the judgment of experts, all the time offering a bribe to undervaluation; the other rests upon quantity, fixed and well known the world over, always determinable and always uniform. The one is assessed by the yard-stick, the ton, and the pound-weight of commerce, and the other is assessed by the foreign value, fixed by the foreign importer or his agent in New York or elsewhere; fixed by the producer, fixed by anybody at any price to escape the payment of full duties. Why, the valuation under the ad valorem system is not even uniform throughout the United States.

My friend from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE], who listens to me now, knows that the valuations fixed upon imported goods at the port of Boston are often different from the valuations fixed on the same class of goods, costing the same, arriving in New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, or Charleston.

So we do not have and can not have a uniform value, for the value is subject always to the cupidity or dishonesty of the foreign importer or producer. It is a system, sir, that has been condemned by all the leading nations of the world. There is not a leading nation that adheres to any considerable extent to the ad valorem rates of duty upon articles imported into its borders; and England has abandoned all ad valorem duties except one, for the very reason that there can be no honest administration of the revenue laws so long as the value is fixed thousands of miles away from the point of production and impossible of verification at home. Henry Clay said fifty years ago:

Let me fix the value of the foreign merchandise, and I do not care what your duty is.

Mr. Secretary Manning, in his very able report made to the last Congress, has gone over the entire question, and he publishes in a volume the opinions of the experts of the Treasury, the collectors, the naval officers, the special agents of the Department, all of them declaring that there is nothing left for the American Government to do but to abolish the ad valorem system and adopt the specific in the interest of the honest collection of the revenue and for the safety and security of reputable merchants. And the Secretary himself says in language too strong and plain to be misunderstood that it is the duty of Congress to abandon the ad valorem and establish specific duties.

I give below these opinions.

Naval officer Burt, of New York, says:

I have long been convinced that a change from ad valorem to specific rates would not only be a benefit to the revenues, but would go far to relieve their administration from the friction and inevitable injustice that have made it in a measure odious. I might give here a *résumé* of my reasons for this opinion, as frequently expressed officially hitherto, but I presume the Department is fully apprised of all the arguments adduced on either side. I will therefore simply say that the ad valorem system is theoretically the perfect system, and that this has engaged its support by those who have only had opportunity to view it as an abstract proposition. This prejudice in its favor must surely give way before the overwhelming evidences that in practice, particularly with high rates, it breeds injustice, contention, and commercial obstructions that are almost intolerable.

James D. Power, a special agent of the Treasury, in a report to the same Secretary, says:

Ad valorem rates of duty afford temptations and opportunities for fraud which can not be guarded against, even by the most rigid rules and vigilant watchfulness. The assessment of values under this system is based upon expert knowledge of values, the most uncertain and arbitrary method that could be devised. Under the ad valorem system fraud has prospered and demoralized

the importing trade, which has passed from the hands of American citizens into the control of men who have taken advantage of our high import duties to enrich themselves at the expense of the revenue and the ruined trade of American wholesale firms. Fraud of this nature is difficult to detect and more difficult still to establish. In the absence of documentary proof it resolves itself into a mere difference of opinion between experts; and the owner of the suspected goods can at all times procure experts who will maintain the correctness of his invoice prices, or he may select an easier and more convincing and efficacious line of defense by procuring affidavits from his buyer or partner abroad to the effect that the invoice cost was the actual price paid for the goods.

Messrs. L. G. Martin and A. K. Tingle, special agents, make the following statement to the Secretary:

There can be no doubt that a change from ad valorem to specific rates would help to diminish the tendency to corrupt action and loss to the revenue by the incompetency or indifference of appraisers. The application of specific rates to all textile fabrics would undoubtedly be a work of great difficulty, particularly as to woolen goods, but it is believed that a schedule can be prepared by the skilled officers in the appraiser's department, with the aid of manufacturers and merchants, which would be satisfactory to all interested, except those who are profiting by the present system of undervaluation.

The late Secretary Manning sums up the objections to ad valorem rates, and I beg to quote his language. He exposes the vice of the system which this bill seeks to engraft upon our legislation:

Whatever successful contrivances are in operation to-day to evade the revenue by false invoices, or by undervaluations, or by any other means, under an ad valorem system, will not cease even if the ad valorem rates shall have been largely reduced. They are incontestably, they are even notoriously inherent in that system.

One advantage, and perhaps the chief advantage of a specific over an ad valorem system is in the fact that, under the former, duties are levied by a positive test, which can be applied by our officers while the merchandise is in possession of the Government, and according to a standard which is altogether national and domestic. That would be partially true of an ad valorem system, levied upon "home value;" but there are constitutional impediments in the way of such a system which appear to be insuperable. But under an ad valorem system, the facts to which the ad valorem rate is to be applied must be gathered in places many thousand miles away, and under circumstances most unfavorable to the administration of justice. One hears it often said that if our ad valorem rates did not exceed 25 or 30 per cent. undervaluation and temptation to undervaluation would disappear; but the records of this Department for the years 1817, 1840, and 1857 do not uphold that conclusion.

This one feature of the bill ought to be enough to insure its defeat, and if the party associates of the late Secretary had given heed to his sound utterances this vicious mode of assessment would have no place in the bill. Instead of simplifying the collection of the revenues as the title of the bill declares, it will increase the difficulties now experienced, encourage fraudulent invoices, promote undervaluation, impair the revenue, and do incalculable injury to honest importers and merchants.

THE GENERAL EFFECT OF PROTECTION.

I now come to consider the general effect of the protective system upon our people and their employments. There is no conflict of interests and should be none between the several classes of producers and the consumers in the United States. Their interests are one, interrelated and interdependent. That which benefits one benefits all; one man's work has relation with every other man's work in the same community; each is an essential part of the grand result to be attained, and that statesmanship which would seek to array the one against the other for any purpose is narrow, unworthy, and unpatriotic. The President's message is unhappily in that direction. The discussion had on this floor has taken that turn. Both have been calculated to create antagonisms where none existed.

The farmer, the manufacturer, the laborer, the tradesman, and the producer and the consumer all have a common interest in the mainte-

nance of a protective tariff. All are alike and equally favored by the system which you seek to overthrow. It is a national system, broad and universal in its application; if otherwise it should be abandoned. It can not be invoked for one section or one interest to the exclusion of others. It must be general in its application within the contemplation of the principle upon which the system is founded. We have been living under it for twenty-seven continuous years, and it can be asserted with confidence that no country in the world has achieved such industrial advancement, and such marvelous progress in arts, science, and civilization as ours. Tested by its results, it has surpassed all other revenue systems.

From 1789 to 1883, a period of ninety-nine years, there have been forty-seven years when a Democratic revenue-tariff policy has prevailed, and fifty-two years under the protective policy, and it is a noteworthy fact that the most progressive and prosperous periods of our history in every department of human effort and material development were during the fifty-two years when the protective party was in control and protective tariffs were maintained; and the most disastrous years—years of want and wretchedness, ruin and retrogression, eventuating in insufficient revenues and shattered credits, individual and national—were during the free-trade or revenue-tariff eras of our history. No man living who passed through any of the latter periods but would dread their return, and would flee from them as he would escape from fire and pestilence; and I believe the party which promotes their return will merit and receive popular condemnation. What is the trouble with our present condition? No country can point to greater prosperity or more enduring evidences of substantial progress among all the people. Too much money is being collected, it is said. We say stop it; not by indiscriminate and vicious legislation, but by simple business methods. Do it on simple, practical lines and we will help you. Buy up the bonds, objectionable as it may be, and pay the nation's debts, if you can not reduce taxation. You could have done this long ago. Nobody is chargeable for the failure and delay but your own Administration.

Who is objecting to our protective system? From what quarter does the complaint come? Not from the enterprising American citizen; not from the manufacturer; not from the laborer, whose wages it improves; not from the consumer, for he is fully satisfied, because under it he buys a cheaper and a better product than he did under the other system; not from the farmer, for he finds among the employés of the protected industries his best and most reliable customers; not from the merchant or the tradesman, for every hive of industry increases the number of his customers and enlarges the volume of his trade. Few, indeed, have been the petitions presented to this House asking for any reduction of duties upon imports. None, that I have seen or heard of, and I have watched with the deepest interest the number and character of these petitions that I might gather from them the drift of public sentiment—I say I have seen none asking for the passage of this bill, or for any such departure from the fiscal policy of the Government so long recognized and followed, while against this legislation there has been no limit to petitions, memorials, prayers, and protests, from producer and consumer alike.

NO PUBLIC DEMAND FOR SUCH A MEASURE.

This measure is not called for by the people; it is not an American measure it is inspired by importers and foreign producers, most of them aliens, who want to diminish our trade and increase their own; who want to decrease our prosperity and augment theirs, and who have

no interest in this country except what they can make out of it. To this is added the influence of the professors in some of our institutions of learning, who teach the science contained in books and not that of practical business. I would rather have my political economy founded upon the every-day experience of the puddler or the potter than the learning of the professor, the farmer and factory hand than the college faculty. Then there is another class who want protective tariffs overthrown. They are the men of independent wealth, with settled and steady incomes, who want everything cheap but currency; the value of everything clipped but coin—cheap labor but dear money. These are the elements which are arrayed against us.

Men whose capital is invested in productive enterprises, who take the risks of business, men who expend their capital and energy in the development of our resources, they are in favor of the maintenance of the protective system. The farmer, the rice-grower, the miner, the vast army of wage-earners from one end of the country to the other, the chief producers of wealth, men whose capital is their brain and muscle, who aspire to better their condition and elevate themselves and their fellows; the young man whose future is yet before him, and which he must carve out with his hand and head, who is without the aid of fortune or of a long ancestral line, these are our steadfast allies in this great contest for the preservation of the American system. Experience and results in our own country are our best advisers, and they vindicate beyond the possibility of dispute the worth and wisdom of the system.

What country can show such a trade as ours, such commerce, such immense transportation lines, such a volume of exchanges, and such marvelous production from the raw material to the finished product. Its balance-sheet is without a parallel in the world's history—richest in agriculture, greatest in its domestic trade and traffic, and leading in manufactures any nation in Europe. Why abandon a policy which can point to such achievements and whose trophies are to be seen on every hand? The internal commerce of the United States is greater than the entire foreign commerce of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Holland, Belgium, and Austria-Hungary. Why, a single railroad system in this country (that of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company) carries more tonnage and traffic in a single year than all the merchant ships of Great Britain. The whole of Europe has not built as many miles of railroad as this country has during some recent years, and in 1880 the whole known world did not lay as many miles of track as were laid across this country. Great Britain's foreign commerce equals about one-sixth of our domestic commerce. Can we do better under any other fiscal policy? We say not. Wise statesmanship commands us, therefore, to let well enough alone.

Sir Edward Sullivan, in a recent article in the London Post, makes these suggestive comparisons, which I beg every gentleman to hear:

Under free trade the masses must get poorer, because they get less employment. A well-known statistical work gives a comparison of the material progress of France under protection and England under free trade. If there is any truth in figures it ought to startle us from our free-trade dream.

The comparison is based on the returns of legacy duty:

In 1826 England was 10s. a head richer than France.

In 1850 England was 19s. a head richer than France.

In 1877 England was 5s. a head poorer than France.

France has 57 per cent. of her land under tillage, and it is increasing every year.

The United Kingdom has 30 per cent. of land under tillage, and it is diminishing every year, but the population of England increases much more rapidly than the population of France.

The commerce of England has increased 21 per cent. in ten years.

The commerce of France has increased 39 per cent. in ten years.
 The commerce of the United States has increased 63 per cent. in ten years.
 The commerce of the world has increased 26 per cent. in ten years.
 So much for the blasting effect of free trade.

In Germany, so long ago as the 14th of May, 1882, Bismarck, in a speech before the German Reichstag, paid to the Republican tariff high eulogy. He said:

The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward disbanded its Army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, given labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States.

You may try protection by any test you will. You may try it not only by the condition of the individual citizen and his happiness and prosperity and the aggregate prosperity of the nation, but try it by the progress which has been made in invention and scientific development; try it by any standard you may raise, the protective system shows by its results that it surpasses any other. You can match it with no other.

Go to the Patent Office and examine the evidences furnished from that great register of the products of American genius. Take the States which have stood by the protective system, which have believed in it, which have been built up under it, and contrast them with the States whose Representatives have stood in unyielding opposition to the system on this floor. See what result you get. Take Connecticut, a little State, but a manufacturing one. In the year 1887 there were 788 patents granted to the inhabitants of that State, 1 for every 790 of its inhabitants, while for Arkansas the number of patents granted was 65, 1 for every 12,346. Take Massachusetts: In 1887 there were 1,875 patents granted to the people of that State, 1 to every 950 of her population, while to Kentucky there were 245 patents granted, or 1 to every 6,729 of her population. Take Illinois: 1,595 patents were granted to her people, 1 to every 1,929 of her population, while for Georgia there were 130, or 1 in every 11,862 of her population. Here is the list:

[From the Commissioner's report, 1887.]

States.	Patents.	One to every inhabitant.
Connecticut.....	788	790
Arkansas	65	12,346
Massachusetts	1,875	950
Illinois.....	1,595	1,929
Kentucky	245	6,729
Georgia	130	11,862
New Jersey.....	988	1,144
Louisiana.....	112	8,392
New York.....	4,047	1,255
Mississippi.....	45	25,146
Ohio	1,477	2,165
North Carolina.....	66	21,208
Pennsylvania	2,109	2,030
South Carolina.....	52	19,145
Rhode Island.....	224	1,234
Tennessee.....	121	12,746
Vermont	112	2,966
Virginia.....	132	11,458
California	505	1,712
Texas	265	6,006

These figures need no comment; they point their own moral; they enforce their own lesson. They demonstrate better than any argument that I can make that invention and progress and the general diffusion of knowledge follow manufacturing and industrial enterprises. [Applause.]

A HOME MARKET.

Why, Mr. Chairman, the establishment of a furnace or factory or mill in any neighborhood has the effect at once to enhance the value of all property and all values for miles surrounding it. They produce increased activity. The farmer has a better and a nearer market for his products. The merchant, the butcher, the grocer, have an increased trade. The carpenter is in greater demand; he is called upon to build more houses. Every branch of trade, every avenue of labor, will feel almost immediately the energizing influence of a new industry. The truck farm is in demand; the perishable products, the fruits, the vegetables, which in many cases will not bear exportation and which a foreign market is too distant to be available, find a constant and ready demand at good paying prices.

What the agriculturist of this country wants more than anything else, after he has gathered his crop, are consumers, consumers at home, men who do not produce what they eat, who must purchase all they consume; men who are engaged in manufacturing, in mining, in cotton-spinning, in the potteries, and in the thousands of productive industries which command all their time and energy, and whose employments do not admit of their producing their own food.

The American agriculturist further wants these consumers near and convenient to his field of supply. Cheap as inland transportation is, every mile saved is money made. Every manufacturing establishment in the United States, wherever situated, is of priceless value to the farmers of the country. The six manufacturing States of New England aptly illustrate the great value of a home market to the Western farmer. These States have reached the highest perfection in skill and manufactures. They do not raise from their own soil, with the exceptions of hay and potatoes, but a small fraction of what their inhabitants require and consume; they could not from their own fields and granaries feed the population which they had in 1830, much less their present population. The most intense revenue-reformer, the most unenlightened Democrat, will have to confess that New England is indebted in large part for her splendid development to the protective system. Now, has her prosperity and progress been secured at the sacrifice of other interests and other sections? I answer no, but has brought, as I believe I shall be able to show, a positive blessing to all of our 60,000,000 of people.

In 1880 the population of these six States was over 4,000,000. The food products required by their people, the very necessities of their daily life in a large measure, came from other States and remote sections of the Union. They raised in 1880 but one-quarter of 1 per cent. of the total wheat production of the United States. They raised in the same year but one-half of 1 per cent. of the total crop of Indian corn, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the oats, 12 per cent. of the hay, and 13 per cent. of the potatoes which were produced in the United States. What did they consume? What did they buy of the Western farmer? Fifty millions of dollars' worth of meat were consumed by their industrial people in a single year. The extent of their needs is strikingly shown by the fact (obtained from the accounts of Commissioner Fink, that during the year 1884 "the trunk lines" brought into New England no less than 470,000 tons of flour and 950,000 tons of

grain. At 200 pounds to the barrel of flour, this is an importation of 4,700,000 barrels, or one and one-fifth, nearly, for each inhabitant. During the same year there were exported from Boston and Portland, the only points in New England from which breadstuffs are sent abroad, 2,100,000 barrels of flour, leaving for consumption within these States 2,600,000 barrels. These figures take no account of the large trade by water from New York. I am informed that a large part of the flour consumed in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Southern Massachusetts is received in this way, but no reliable statistics are available. It is reasonable, however, to suppose, and this comes to me from what I deem good authority, that the amount thus received and consumed offsets a large portion of the foreign exports to which I have referred.

Of the grain received during the same year rather less than 400,000 tons were exported, leaving for New England consumption 550,000 tons, for all of which these States were the customers of the West in addition to the amount grown upon their own soil. In addition to this, New England consumed, in 1886-'87 in her factories nearly one-fourth of the entire cotton crop of the country. More than this, she used in her woolen mills in 1880 fully one-half of the entire wool clip of the United States, and during the year 1886 she consumed more than one-sixth of the entire anthracite-coal production of the country and $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the bituminous-coal production, and every pound of both came from the Middle and Southern States.

Is not New England (I appeal to the gentlemen of the other side, I appeal to the farmers of the country) worth preserving? Is not the industrial system which makes such a community of consumers for agricultural products possible worth maintaining? Does not she furnish you a market worth fostering? Does not she give you a trade and an exchange of products worth your while to guard with the most considerate care? And does not her condition indicate the wisdom of the policy we advocate? Is not her market better for you than a foreign one? Is not New England a better customer for you, more reliable, more easily reached, more stable, than Old England? [Applause on the Republican side.] Is not Boston a better consumer for the people of the United States than London, New York than Liverpool, Pittsburgh than Manchester, Cincinnati than Birmingham? [Applause on the Republican side.]

New England buys of you for all her wants; Old England takes not a pound or a bushel from you except what she must have and can not get elsewhere.

Now, let us contrast this home market of New England with the foreign market of Old England. In 1880 New England consumed 540,000,000 pounds of cotton, at 11.61 a pound, which in value then amounted to \$62,695,000, 20 per cent. greater than the per capita value of all our domestic exports to the United Kingdom, and this was only New England's contribution to the Southern producers of cotton. She sends at least \$70,000,000 to the West and Northwest for her food supplies. She sends to the wool-growers of the Middle, Western, and Pacific States \$40,000,000 annually for their fleeces. I repeat, is not this market worth preserving, ay, cherishing, and does it not make us long to have New England thrive, New England enterprise, and New England politics more generally distributed throughout all sections of the country? [Applause on the Republican side.]

You can destroy this valuable home market by such legislation as is proposed in this bill; you can diminish this demand for food, for cotton, for wool, for flax, and hemp produced in other sections of the country

by following the delusive theories of our friends on the other side of the House; you can diminish the capacity of the operatives to buy of you by diminishing their wages; you can drive them from the cotton and woolen factories to the farms; they will then drift to the West and Northwest, not to engage in manufacture, but in a great measure to become tillers of the soil, and instead of being as they are now, and as they will be under a proper tariff system, your consumers, they become your competitors. They go from the ranks of consumers to the ranks of producers; diminish the consumers and increase the producers. The foreign market for agricultural products is one of the delusions of free trade. If it ever had any real substance as against a good home market that has long since disappeared.

The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee says to the Western farmer, "Let New England go. Pass her by and go to Old England." Well, that is about as practical as the Democratic party ordinarily is. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Mr. DUNN, a prominent member of this House and chairman of one of its leading committees, and I remember to have heard him say what I now read from the RECORD:

The wheat producer of the Northwest is standing face to face with the wheat producer of India. A few years ago India shipped 40,000 bushels of wheat. Last year (1885) she put into the market 40,000,000 bushels. Can you protect the Northwest farmer against that labor? India can put wheat down in the markets of consumption in Europe cheaper than we can transport it from the fields of production to the markets of consumption; that is to say, India can produce and market her wheat in Europe for what it costs the farmer of the Northwest to transport his to the market of consumption, without allowing him for the cost of production. In other words, the transportation of wheat costs the American farmer as much as both transportation and production cost the India farmer.

In the face of a statement like this, from such high Democratic authority, how, I ask, is the wheat of the American farmer to reach the European market with any profit to our producers? And yet it is to this kind of competition the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee invites the American farmer. Do the farmers want such a market with such a competition? What their answer will be no man can doubt. They reject with indignation and scorn the chairman's moria-tion. [Applause.] The home market is the best, besides being the safest. It has got the most money to spend, and spends the most. It consumes the most; it is therefore the most profitable.

The masses of our people live better than any people in the world Great Britain only buys our food products when she has not enough of her own and can reach no other supply. This market, therefore, is fitful and fluctuating, and can not be relied upon as we can rely upon our own consumers. The foreign market under a revenue tariff for agricultural products has not been encouraging in our own experience in the past. It promises less under such a system in the future.

INCREASED IMPORTATIONS THE PURPOSE OF THE BILL.

The chairman of the committee in opening this debate boldly announced that we must increase foreign importations to secure national prosperity. How much does the gentleman and the party with which he is associated desire to increase importations? Are they not large enough already? Are they not now crowding our producers and diminishing their annual productions? Are they not already making labor restless, filling it with apprehension and uncertainty as to the future? Is this country to be the dumping ground of foreign products? During the last fiscal year over \$233,000,000 in value of for-

foreign merchandise was imported into the United States free of duty, and over \$450,000,000 additional was imported which paid a duty. Is this not enough? Do the iron and steel workers want further importations in their line, representing cheap labor, to compete with the product of their labor? Over \$50,000,000 in value of iron and steel manufactures was imported last year, every dollar of which represented foreign capital and foreign labor, which might well have been produced at home. Every ton could have been made here, and American hands were waiting to make it.

How much labor do you suppose was represented by the \$50,000,000 worth of iron and steel that came into this country last year? It would have taken 1,740 puddlers and helpers, working every day for 300 days in the year, to have produced the scrap-iron that came from Europe last year. It would have taken 2,500 men 300 days to have produced the bar and structural iron, and steel billets, and slabs, and ingots which were imported into the United States last year. It would have taken 300 men 300 days, besides those engaged in preparing the raw material, to have produced the plates and sheets, the corrugated iron, and the steel in various forms imported last year. It would have taken 3,700 men 300 days to have made the wire rods and the nails and the screws and wire in various shapes which were imported into the United States last year. It would have taken 800 men 300 days to have made the washers, and the bolts, and the fish-plates, and railway-plates, the steel tire, hinge-iron, and tubes of steel which were imported into this country last year. It would have taken 500 men 300 days to have made the iron and steel rails which were brought into the United States from abroad last year. It would have taken 24,000 men to manufacture the tin-plate imported last year. Summing up these figures 33,540 men, working for 300 days, would have been required to produce the \$50,000,000 worth of iron and steel which we imported last year. Do you want that volume increased? Ten million sixty-two thousand is the aggregate number of days' work that were taken from American workingmen, every day's work of which they could have performed, and were waiting ready to perform. [Applause.] Including all branches of labor required to manufacture the fifty millions of imported iron and steel and the manufacture thereof, taking into account the labor employed in the mining, transportation, and manipulation of the raw materials, and it would employ nearly, if not quite, one hundred thousand men.

I do not know what you think about it; but I would not permit a single ton of steel to come into the United States if our own labor could make it. [Applause.] Let American labor, as far as practicable, manufacture American products. [Applause.] And if you do not like it, you know what you can do. [Laughter.] This Government is made for Americans, native-born and naturalized; and every pound, every bushel, every ton, every yard of foreign product that comes into this country to compete with ours deprives American labor of what justly belongs to it.

Do the farmers want increased importations of agricultural products? Of barley alone there were \$6,152,000 of value imported last year, and of vegetables a value of \$2,276,000. The total imports of the products of agriculture for the year 1887 free and dutiable were in value \$197,308,240. Of this sum \$46,678,443 was admitted free of duty and the remainder paid a duty. Do the agriculturists want the duties all removed and their products driven from this market. Seven million three hundred thousand dollars' worth of foreign glass came into this

country last year. Do the glass-blowers want this volume increased? Five million five hundred and forty-five thousand dollars' worth of pottery of foreign make entered our market last year. Do the potters want this vast sum augmented? Will the wool-growers who were compelled to compete with \$16,000,000 worth of foreign wool last year relish the prospect of having their product further displaced next year; and the labor engaged in woolen manufactories in this country, are they anxious that the \$44,000,000 worth of woolen goods imported in 1887 in competition with the products of their labor shall be multiplied in 1889? All these importations will be greatly increased if this bill shall become a law. Every invoice of foreign goods which comes here the like of which we can make crowds out just so much American labor. Is there to be no limit to this foreign invasion?

I answer, only to the extent that our people shall make importations impossible by reducing the cost of the home product. This will be the only restraint upon foreign merchandise glutting this market to the displacement of our own. If our present labor conditions are maintained—and this bill gets upon our statute-book—there will be no barrier in the way of a perfect inundation of foreign goods in the United States. It should not be forgotten that low duties or no duties substitute foreign imports for home-made and home-grown products, and to the extent of such substitution take work and wages from American labor. The effect of this bill, and there can be no other, is to increase importations, displace our own products by foreign ones, diminish the output of our factories and mills, curtail the demand for labor, and reduce the wages of those who may be able to get work. This result is as clear and manifest to me as the simplest mathematical problem, and we have only to look at the wage scale of competing nations to know what our labor will come to with free trade or its equivalent. We can not compete with foreign nations without the restraint of a tariff unless we have equal conditions and equal labor cost. To do this we must introduce European conditions and European methods in the United States, and that is what this bill and all similar legislation mean.

"The trammels of trade must be removed" is the language employed by the friends of this bill. How and in what way? First, by removing the duty from raw materials used in manufacture, which of necessity will be at the expense and loss of those engaged in preparing them. But to a tariff reformer that is of little account. This trammel must go, to enable the domestic manufacturer to compete with the foreign manufacturer at home and abroad. After this, and next in order, the trammel of high wages must be removed. This is the most important and essential of all. This is the chief obstruction. Free raw material will not equalize the condition of manufacturers at home with those abroad. Cheap labor, underpaid labor, underfed labor will be the next demand of the advocates of this bill. Some of them have been frank enough to avow it already. This is the inexorable logic of the situation. If we are to control the whole of our own market and send our manufactures across the sea, it can be accomplished in one way only, by reducing the cost of the home product to the same or below the cost of the foreign product. To do this every intelligent man knows involves an enormous reduction of the wages of American workingmen. To this a revenue tariff comes at last and from which there is no escape and against it every true American interest cries out in an emphatic and earnest protest.

I propose a wiser and more patriotic solution of the difficulties of our financial situation. If we will buy more American goods and less foreign,

we will reduce the income of the Government and leave and increase the surplus among the people. If we will buy more American merchandise and less of foreign make, manufactures at home will run the year round and labor will be suitably rewarded and steadily employed. If we had some of that lofty patriotism evinced by the fathers, if we were more American in feeling, sentiment, and purpose, there would be fewer advocates of this bill.

AMERICAN WAGES AGAINST EUROPEAN WAGES.

There has been much effort made in this debate to show that, after all, American workmen get no better pay than the workmen of other countries. Let us consider this branch of the discussion for a little while, for if it be true that labor here is no better rewarded than elsewhere, then the strength of protection is much weakened. I beg to cite, against the unsupported statements of the gentlemen who have already spoken upon the other side, the testimony of American workmen whose opportunity for information from experience in both countries, and otherwise, makes their evidence incontrovertible. From the statements made March 10, 1886, before the Committee on Ways and Means, I read. Some of this testimony is two years old, but the only reason it is so is because laboring men were not permitted to testify this year. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Roger Evans, workman, speaking upon this subject, said:

Of course you must not gauge the American workman by the amount of coarse bread and meat which will be necessary for him to subsist upon. It can not be. The American workman must have other things than those. He must be fed and clothed and be able to maintain his family as becomes the dignity of an American citizen.

Another, Mr. Philip Hagan, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I was born under a free-trade government, and I believe that that free-trade government deprived me of an education. The reason of that was that I had to go to work when I was eight years of age; and I remember also my little brother going to work under that free-trade government when he was eight years of age. I remember well when there was a family of nine of us (including my father and mother), and when my wages for working in a mill were 10 cents per day. That was under a free-trade government. Subsequently I went up higher there to 5 shillings a day, or \$1.25. That was about the limit I could reach—six and sixpence a day—and having to pay 60 cents out of that to my helper.

Many members of this committee know all this just as well as I am stating it, and I am not going to detain you any longer; but I will state that as soon as my limited knowledge informed me that labor was protected in the United States I came here. I declared my intentions and I became a citizen of the United States. And now I have a family, and now I make regularly 14 shillings a day. The produce on which I lived in England came mostly from the United States, and certainly I ought to get it as cheap here as in England. I worked for 5 shillings a day in England, and I get 14 shillings a day here. Consequently I am able to send my children to school, and they are getting an education, which their father did not get under a free-trade government. I want to see these children raised up and educated as citizens.

[Applause.]

Mr. Thomas Williams said:

As American citizens we can not be compelled to subsist upon what the working people of England, France, or other European countries subsist upon. The people of this country have made it just what it is, and in a very great measure the workmen have made it what it is. Some of us have come across the Atlantic, leaving the land of our birth, and have come here with the expectations that we were going to better our condition. We have bettered it in a great measure. We will get along if you will let us alone. The manufacturers and ourselves will fight our own battles.

Mr. Thomas P. Jones said:

I came to this country to better my condition, and I am happy to say that I have bettered my condition. I have made more wages than I ever made in the old country.

It has been shown here to-day, and, as I think, very clearly, that this tinkering

with the tariff is not for the best interests of the country; is not for the best interests of the wealth-producers, of the men who built up this country. Then, gentlemen, I take it that it is your duty to throw this bill to the dogs. I certainly do not stand to dictate to you altogether in this matter, but I will assure you this far: that there is a school of education among the working people in this country, and that if this tinkering of the tariff is allowed to proceed; if you will, in spite of our remonstrances, go on destroying our interests and shutting up the industries of the country, our working people will be ere long sufficiently educated to step forth and say, "Gentlemen, thus far shall you go, and no farther." We will elect men and send them here to legislate for our interests if you will not do so. We have the power, gentlemen, and you know it.

Laborers in this country were never so cemented as they are to-day. One of the principal things which has helped us to that is this very bill which the honorable chairman has brought before this committee. Where I live, in Chicago, you would be surprised to see the feeling that exists among the working classes. And why? Because some of the people there worked in this country in free-trade times. I have a brother-in-law who, in free-trade times, traveled to his work 6 miles in the morning, getting there at sun-up, worked all day, and walked home at sundown, and all for a paltry 50 cents a day. I also have worked for 50 cents a day, but not in this country, thank God. I have worked for 25 cents a day, but I do not want to have to do it again. I have seen in the city of Glasgow, in Scotland, men working for 12 cents a day and a bowl of soup. That does not become an American citizen. We can not have such a state of affairs here, and we will not have it.

I have a letter from Mr. William Barbour, of the Barbour Flax Spinning Company, of Paterson, N. J., under date of 31st of March, in which occurs the following:

DEAR SIR: As a stockholder and director of Barbour Flax-Spinning Company, of Paterson, N. J., I wish to make a statement to you regarding the flax-thread industry, and to call your attention to the effect which the proposed Mills bill would have upon it.

* * * * *

While I am an American born, and the industry I represent in Paterson, N. J., is thoroughly American, I am also a large stockholder in a flax-spinning company in Ireland; and that you may judge of the relative wages paid in the two countries, I would state that the pay-rolls of the two mills, as recently compared, differed only about \$500, the number of hands in the Irish mill being 2,900 against 1,400 in the New Jersey mill.

* * * * *

Yours, truly,

WM. BARBOUR.

Hon. W. McKINLEY, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

That is, 1,400 American laborers are paid the exact sum which 2,900 laborers are paid for the same labor in Ireland, and yet gentlemen would have us believe there is no difference in favor of the American workman. [Applause.]

The Singer Sewing-Machine Company maintains a factory in Glasgow, Scotland, as well as its works in New Jersey. It employs one-third more hands in its Scotch establishment, yet the pay-roll there is only half that of its American works, the actual figures being \$18,000 and \$35,000.

Mr. HERBERT. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. McKINLEY. Certainly.

Mr. HERBERT. Can the gentleman tell me the price a sewing-woman in Scotland pays for a sewing-machine and the price a sewing-woman in New Jersey pays for the same kind of a sewing-machine?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir; I am told the prices are about the same except a sewing-machine in Scotland costs more than a sewing-machine in America. [Laughter and applause.]

John H. Ross, superintendent Boston Thread and Twine Company, under date of April 23, 1888, says:

We are paying three times the average wages paid for similar labor throughout Europe.

Here is a letter under date of April 26, 1883, from the representatives of at least a half million workingmen of the United States:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 26, 1883.

DEAR SIR: Having seen by the papers that Mr. MILLS and others, in their speeches in the House of Representatives upon the tariff bill, have asserted the wages paid to labor were no higher in the United States than in Europe, we, the undersigned, desire to state, through you, to the members of Congress that such statements are misleading and false. Wages are higher in this country than in any other in the world. Notwithstanding the fact that the statements have been made by members on the floor of the House of Representatives that the tariff only benefits the manufacturer, and that they receive all the advantages from the protection given by the Government, we know that we receive our share of the benefits of protection on the industries we represent.

We therefore emphatically protest against any reduction of the duties that will bring us on a level with the low price paid for labor in Europe. We insist upon the maintenance of a strong protective tariff, in order to maintain an American standard of wages for American workingmen.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM WEIHE, *President of Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.*

WM. MARTIN, *Secretary of Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.*

JOHN CONKLING, *Master Workman National Assembly Iron and Steel Workers' Knights of Labor.*

JOHN COFFEY, *Master Workman Glass Blowers' Assembly 149.*

Hon. WILLIAM MCKINLEY,
Washington, D. C.

LOUIS ARRINGTON, *Master Workman Glass Blowers' Assembly 143.*

JAMES CAMPBELL, *President of Local Assembly 300, Knights of Labor, Window Glass Workers of America.*

WM. J. SMITH, *President American Flint Glass Workers' Union.*

WM. J. DILLON, *Secretary.*

This bill proposes to equalize American production with European production by bringing down American wages to the level of European wages, and, Mr. Chairman, I give you notice here to-day that you can not do it. [Applause.]

AGRICULTURAL WAGES.

Now as to farm wages here as contrasted with other countries. I have a letter from Mr. Dodge, the Statistician of the Agricultural Department:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
BUREAU OF STATISTICS,
Washington, D. C., March 29, 1883.

The wages of white labor in agriculture in this country is about \$24 per month. In England, the average wages paid for agricultural labor, according to J. S. Jeans, in the Royal Agricultural Society's Journal, was about \$12.65 per month. It has been reduced since 1830.

In the Argentine Republic the common farm hands get \$10 to \$12 per month.

In India agricultural wages are about \$20 to \$25 per year.

Wages here in the wool-growing industry are two or three times as much as in competing countries.

Consul Wamer, at Cologne, in his official report of May 21, 1886, to the State Department, gives a statement of the increase of exports from Germany to the United States, also the wages paid. The laborer, whether he works in iron or steel works, factories, stone-quarries, or railroads, earns as a rule from 47 to 70 cents per day, and for skilled labor he may get from 80 to 92 cents per day. Women, when employed, earn from 24 to 30 cents per day. Boys under sixteen receive 19 to 24 cents a day, and an extra strong boy may earn 30 cents. Working hours are from 6 to 6 in summer, and 7 to 7 in winter, with one hour for dinner.

The consul-general at Vienna, in speaking of the Austrian laborer, says a home of his own, though ever so modest, is beyond his reach.

Consul Tanner, at Chemnitz, Saxony, says:

The customary wages to hired servants on a farm are \$37.19 per year, with

board and lodging, for men, and \$23.50 for females. Field hands are paid at the rate of 5½ cents per hour. Women receive 2½ cents per hour.

Speaking of their food, he says:

Sugar or sirup are never allowed, and but very little milk. Tea is never used. For dinner they have meat and vegetables three times a week, and always on Sundays.

This effectually disposes of the claim that wages in England and other countries are as high as here.

WAGES IN THE SOUTH AND PROTECTION TO RICE.

The wage question in the South is interesting, and I have seen it no better stated, and the reason for maintaining protection nowhere more strongly presented than in the report made this year on the American rice industry, prepared by the Rice Association and addressed to the association of Savannah. I read:

During this period [from 1840 to 1860] the duty on foreign rice was 20 per cent. ad valorem. In all the rice-producing divisions of the country slave labor was then employed, and no foreign rice was imported.

It will be noted that slave labor operates as a positive prohibition to foreign imports. It takes the place of a protective tariff, and presents to labor a choice between the one and the other.

Cheap labor can successfully compete with cheap labor on equal terms and with equal chance of profits in the markets of the world without the aid of legislative protection, and what I have read shows the character of labor best adapted to free trade. This report says the conditions surrounding the American producer have entirely changed. Let me read:

Since the emancipation of the slaves the cost of agricultural labor in the South has been greatly increased. In the rice districts of the Carolinas and Georgia field labor ranges from 40 to 60 cents, and the best expert (not mechanical) labor to \$1 per diem.

So that no time since 1865 could rice have been cultivated as a staple product without the protection afforded by import duties upon foreign grain.

Now, with what labor does the Southern rice-grower compete? I will read from this report a quotation from the report of the United States minister at Peking:

Coming now to the field-hand whom the farmer hires, we arrive at the substratum of labor. The average wages of an able-bodied young man is \$12 per annum, food, straw, shoes, and free shaving. Deducting \$1 for his clothing, he saves \$8 annually—or may do so.

Ten years' saving will enable him to buy one-third of an acre of land (value per acre, \$150) and necessary implements by which he can attain by his own labor a subsistence. * * * In ten years he can become possessor of two-thirds of an acre.

The report goes on further:

In Japan, the field-hands receive their food and lodging with wages from \$3.60 to \$12.96 per annum. The wages of females are about \$6 per annum.

In British India the per diem is 6 cents for males and 1½ cents for females.

In Kurnel the highest permanent wages are 50 cents per month.

In Borat men employed by the year get from 80 to 100 pounds of grain per month, and from 4½ cents to \$1.98 per annum.

In Bombay and Madras laborers are paid from 6 to 12 cents per diem.

Hence the wages paid at the South in the rice-fields are many fold greater than those paid to laborers in the rice-fields of Asia. Two-thirds of the cost of production is disbursed in wages in the former.

The report then concludes:

The contrast in this element of cost should render unnecessary any further comment than that without the intervention of the existing import tax on Asiatic rice competition would seem impossible.

This argument I commend for its force and fairness, and it makes out a strong case for the rice-grower, who in my judgment deserves protection and which we cheerfully accord; but the same argument applies with equal force to domestic wool, flax, and hemp, and other prod-

ucts of agriculture and manufacture. They are all within the same principle; all of them cultivated and produced with wage-labor greatly in excess of that paid abroad. Yet these American products are to be severely crippled, if not wholly destroyed.

This statement of the rice-growers is a most striking demonstration of the wisdom and necessity of protection. It shows what is true in the North is true in the South. The chief and controlling question is one of labor, and so long as the labor cost here in any department of employment exceeds the labor cost in Europe so long we must have a protective tariff which shall compensate for this difference. And whether the labor is in the rice-fields of Georgia and of the Carolinas, or in the wheat-fields of the Northwest, in the factories of New England, the mines of Maryland and Virginia, or the furnaces of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New Jersey, it must be protected against the less rewarded labor whose products come in competition with theirs. Either this tariff must be maintained to maintain the difference of wages or one of two things must inevitably occur: we must abandon production in many of the most valuable fields of industry here or our labor must come down to the standard of the competing labor; and we may discuss our theories until the frosts of December and we can not alter the fact.

This is the issue and it can not be evaded.

LABOR NOT ASKING FOR IT—CHEAP CLOTHING.

It is a fact worthy to call to the attention of the House that a labor organization representing a million working men, with its representatives in this city whose sole duty is to look after the interests of labor, have given no sign of approval of this bill. Not a petition has come through this source asking for its passage, or anything like it. Whatever utterance has been made has been in opposition and protest. Every member on this floor has observed the activity of this committee of Knights of Labor in regard to legislation affecting the interests of labor, but in all their vast constituency, found in every State of the Union, found in the fields, in the factories, workshops, and mines, no word or sign but of disapproval and condemnation has come.

The expectations of cheaper clothes is not sufficient to justify the action of the majority. This is too narrow for a national issue. Nobody, so far as I have learned, has expressed dissatisfaction with the present price of clothing. It is a political objection; it is a party slogan. Certainly nobody is unhappy over the cost of clothing except those who are amply able to pay even a higher price than is now exacted. And besides, if this bill should pass, and the effect would be (as it inevitably must be) to destroy our domestic manufactures, the era of low prices would vanish, and the foreign manufacturer would compel the American consumer to pay higher prices than he has been accustomed to pay under "the robber tariff," so called.

Mr. Chairman, I represent a district comprising some 200,000 people, a large majority of the voters in the district being workingmen. I have represented them for a good many years, and I have never had a complaint from one of them, that their clothes were too high. Have you? [Applause on the Republican side.] Has any gentleman on this floor met with such complaint in his district?

Mr. MORSE. They did not buy them of me.

Mr. MCKINLEY. No! Let us see; if they had bought of the gentleman from Massachusetts it would have made no difference, and there could have been no complaint. Let us examine the matter.

[Mr. MCKINLEY here produced a bundle containing a suit of clothes, which he opened and displayed amidst great laughter and applause.]

Come now, will the gentleman from Massachusetts know his own goods? [Renewed laughter.] We recall, Mr. Chairman, that the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means talked about the laboring man who worked for ten days at a dollar a day, and then went with his ten dollars wages to buy a suit of clothes. It is the old story. It is found in the works of Adam Smith. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] I have heard it in this House for ten years past. It has served many a free-trader. It is the old story, I repeat, of the man who gets a dollar a day for his wages, and having worked for the ten days goes to buy his suit of clothes. He believes he can buy it for just \$10; but "the robber manufacturers" have been to Congress, and have got 100 per cent. put upon the goods in the shape of a tariff, and the suit of clothes he finds can not be bought for \$10, but he is asked \$20 for it, and so he has got to go back to ten days more of sweat; ten days more of toil; ten days more of wear and tear of muscle and brain to earn the \$10 to purchase the suit of clothes. Then the chairman gravely asks is not ten days entirely annihilated?

Now, a gentleman who read that speech or heard it was so touched by the pathetic story that he looked into it and sent me a suit of clothes identical with that described by the gentleman from Texas, and he sends me also the bill for it, and here is the entire suit, "robber tariffs and taxes and all" have been added, and the retail cost is what? Just \$10. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] So the poor fellow does not have to go back to work ten days more to get that suit of clothes. He takes the suit with him and pays for it just \$10. [Applause.]

But in order that there might be no mistake about it, knowing the honor and honesty of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE], he went to his store and bought the suit. [Laughter and cheers on the Republican side.] I hold in my hand the bill.

Mr. STRUBLE. Read it.

Mr. MCKINLEY (reading):

BOSTON, May 4, 1888.

J. D. Williams, bought of LEOPOLD MORSE & Co.; men's youth's, and boys' clothing; 131 to 137 Washington street, corner of Brattle—

I believe it is.

Mr. MORSE. Yes, Brattle.

Mr. MCKINLEY (reading):

To one suit of woolen clothes, \$10. Paid.

[Renewed laughter and applause.]

And now, Mr. Chairman, I never knew of a gentleman engaged in this business who sold his clothes without a profit. [Laughter.] And there is the same \$10 suit described by the gentleman from Texas that can be bought in the city of Boston, can be bought in Philadelphia, in New York, in Chicago, in Pittsburgh, anywhere throughout the country at \$10 retail the whole suit, coat, pants, and vest, and 40 per cent. less than it could have been bought in 1860 under your low tariff and low wages of that period. [Great applause.] It is a pity to destroy the sad picture of the gentleman from Texas which was to be used in the campaign, but the truth must be told. But do you know that if it was not for protection you would pay a great deal more for these clothes? I do not intend to go into that branch of the question, but I want to give one brief illustration of how the absence of American competition immediately sends up the foreign prices, and it is an illustration that every man will remember. My friend from Missouri [Mr. CLARDY], who sits in front of me, will remember it. The Missouri Glass Company was

organized several years ago for the manufacture of coarse fluted glass and cathedral glass. Last November the factory was destroyed by fire. Cathedral glass was their specialty. Within ten days from the time that splendid property was reduced to ashes the foreign price of cathedral glass advanced 23 per cent. to the American consumer. [Applause on the Republican side.]. Showing that whether you destroy the American production by free trade or by fire it is the same thing; the price goes up to the American consumer, and all you can do is to pay the price the foreigner chooses to ask. [Renewed applause.]

THE POOR MAN'S BLANKETS.

Now, the gentleman had a lot of blankets here the other day. The very climax of the gentleman's speech was reached when he came to a description of the American blankets, and the enormous burdens that the tariff laid upon the poor man's bed and covering. Why, you would have supposed that he was enunciating the national issue for 1888, and I think really that is about all they have left now that civil-service reform is gone. [Laughter.]

Now what is the fact? He told you that for one pair of 5-pound blankets, which he exhibited, the price was \$2.51, the labor cost 35 cents, the tariff \$1.90, and the difference between the labor and the duty \$1.55. Then the gentleman from Texas turned to this House and to his admiring associates and listening audience and said: "Why does not the manufacturer give the laborer that \$1.55, the difference between the labor cost and the duty?" which inquiry was followed by deafening applause.

Did he not leave the impression upon the mind of everyone that the manufacturer got the duty? He asked why did he not give it to the laborer? and turning he said: "Of course he would not do that; he put it into his pocket." I will tell you the reason, or at least a sufficient reason why the manufacturer did not give it to the laborer. It was because he did not get it himself.

I do not know where the gentleman got his figures, but I have a careful statement from one of the leading blanket manufacturers of this country, and I intend to give the facts fully.

Blankets are numbered according to grade and according to weight. There are several grades of five-pound blankets numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. A No. 1 five-pound blanket made in the city of Philadelphia sells for \$1.72. The labor represented in the blanket is 87½ cents; the duty is \$1.02. Of a scarlet blanket, five pounds, the price is \$2.27; the labor is 87½ cents; the duty is \$3.17. Of the white all-wool Falls of Schuylkill blanket the price is \$3.62; the labor \$1.05; the duty \$2.60. Of the Gold-Medal blanket the price is \$4.53; the labor \$1.05; the duty \$3.50.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if the duty was added to the cost, what would the American manufacturers get for these blankets? They should get for the first blanket \$2.74. How much do they get? They get only \$1.72. They should get for the second blanket, duty added, \$3.77. How much do they get? They get \$2.27. They should get for the third \$5.12. How much do they get? They get \$3.17. They should get, duty added, for the fourth class \$6.22. How much do they get? They get \$4.35. They should get, duty added, for the highest grade, \$8.03. How much do they get? They get \$4.05.

Now, Mr. Chairman, what did these same blankets cost in 1860 under a revenue tariff, under the free-trade domination of this country by the Democratic party? What did we pay for the same blankets that year as contrasted with what we pay now? The blanket that sells to-day

for \$1.02 sold in 1860 for \$2. The blanket that sells now for \$1.45 sold in 1860 for \$2.50. The blanket that sells now for \$1.31 sold in 1860 for \$2.25. The blanket that sells now for \$1.90 sold in 1860 for \$3.50. The blanket that sells now for \$2.58 sold for \$3.75 in 1860. The blanket that sells now for \$4.35 sold for \$7.50 in 1860. The blanket that sells for \$5.85 now sold for \$10 in 1860. The blanket that sells now for \$6.80 sold for \$13 in 1860.

PRICES OF 1860 AND 1888 COMPARED.

Now let us see how the wages are, for that is an essential element in this question. In 1860 a spinner got \$6 a week in this same establishment, and I am speaking from the books of the manufacturer. It is no idle and hearsay, second-hand statement that I am making, nor does it come from any foreign source, nor is it based on any information from abroad. It is taken from the actual books of a manufacturer of blankets in Philadelphia, who has been manufacturing for a great many years. A spinner got for a week's work in 1860, \$6. What does he get now? Fifteen dollars. Six dollars a week in 1860, and \$15 a week in 1888! A piecer boy got \$1.15 a week in 1860, and he gets \$3.50 now. A weaver got \$4 in 1860, and \$10 in 1888. A finisher, unskilled, got \$4.15 in 1860, and he gets \$9 in 1888. A skilled finisher got \$6 in 1860, and \$16 in 1888. A dye-house hand, unskilled, got \$4.25 in 1860, and he gets \$9 in 1888. A common laborer \$4 in 1860, and gets \$7.50 in 1888. A skilled laborer got \$4.50 in 1860, and he gets \$9 in 1888. An engineer got \$6.50 in 1860, and he gets \$16 in 1888.

The weekly earnings of the spinner in 1860 could buy three pairs of cheap blankets for one week's work. The spinner under American protection in 1888, for the price of one week's work can buy fifteen pairs of blankets. Talk about productive capacity! Think about buying capacity! The spinner buys his blankets for one-half what they cost him in 1860; and he gets two and a half times as much for his labor in 1888 as he got in 1860. Do you wonder these men do not like your bill? [Applause.] Do you wonder these men condemn the action of the committee for not listening to their protests? Why, you are preparing here to-day—and that is the purpose and effect of this bill—you are preparing here to reduce the scale of American wages. But I am not through with the blanket issue. You may think that what I have already given is sufficiently exhaustive, but I have an actual transaction here that I know will be of interest to the members of this House, and, therefore, at the expense of wearying your patience, I am going to ask your attention to it. [Cries of "Go on!"]

THE UNITED STATES BUYING FOREIGN BLANKETS.

On the 25th of March, 1887, the United States Government advertised for bids for the purchase of blankets for the use of the medical department of the Army. This was in 1887, under the present Administration. There were foreign bids and there were American bids. Now, if the President is right in saying that the duty is added to the cost, then the foreign cost, duty added, ought to be just equal to the American price. Now, what are the facts of this transaction? As I have said, there was a foreign bid, and there was an American bid. The foreign bid was for a four-pound blanket for medical purposes, to be furnished for \$2.25 $\frac{2}{10}$. For the same four-pound blanket for the same purposes, the American bid was \$2.56, there being a difference of 30 $\frac{3}{10}$ cents. Who, who do you suppose got the contract? There was a foreign bid, and an American bid, and the difference between the bids was 30 cents on each blanket. Now tell me which manufacturer,

the American or English got the contract? Is there anybody here who would not have given it to the American, there being a difference of only 30 cents between the bids?

Is there any gentleman on this floor who would send abroad to get a pair of blankets merely to save 30 cents on them, thus taking away from the American manufacturer and the American farmer and the American laborer that much business? However that may be, that contract did go abroad. English labor, with foreign wool, made those 2,000 blankets for the use of our army. American labor was boycotted and they came in without paying any duty. The Government took advantage of a law that stands on the statute-book and admitted them free of duty. There being so little revenue in the Treasury, it was necessary, of course, to save every penny, so they took advantage of that law which permits the United States to bring in goods free of duty.

Now let us look at the figures. The duty on blankets of that quality is 18 cents a pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem. Eighteen cents a pound upon 2,000 blankets, 4 pounds each, is \$1,440; 35 per cent. ad valorem is \$1,576.40, making a total duty upon those 2,000 blankets, which were bought from a foreign blanketmaker, of \$3,016.40. The cost of those blankets, free of duty, amounts to \$4,504; with the duty added the total would be \$7,520.40.

Now, if the President is right and if the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means is right in saying that this duty is added to the price to the American consumer, then \$7,520.40 is exactly what the American price would be.

Now, then, gentlemen, what was the American price? The American price was \$5,120. That is, it was \$2,400 less than the foreign cost, duty added. Without any duty, the difference between the cost of the American and the cost of the foreign blankets, the whole 2,000, was about \$600. Now you see the American manufacturer does not get the duty, and that, I submit, is a sufficient reason why he does not give it to his workmen. I am very sorry, Mr. Chairman, that the President of the United States did not know of this transaction, which had occurred under his own administration, so that he might have avoided making the blunder which he made in his message when he said that the duty was added to the cost. And I do not know what those around me may think about it, but I am very sorry that our Government went abroad and bought those blankets just to save 30 cents apiece on them. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Chairman, I wish that this Government of ours, which is supported by its own people, and not by foreigners, would patronize its own people. I think that is an example of patriotism which should be set by those charged with public administration. I wish the men who pay the taxes to support this Government, to pay the President's salary and other expenses of the Government, would be patronized when the Government has anything to buy, don't you? And are you not a little ashamed of this transaction, all of you? I do not know whether the like was ever done under any former administration or not; but it never ought to be done, except in time of war or great public necessity, by any future administration of any party. [Applause on the Republican side.]

ALL EUROPE INTERESTED IN THE PASSAGE OF THIS BILL.

All Europe is watching the progress of this bill. Its immediate promoters are not following it with keener vigilance and more absorbing interest than their foreign sympathizers. All trades, all manufacturers across the Atlantic, are watching it with the deepest concern and

anticipating the rich harvest which awaits them when our gates shall be opened, our industrial defenses torn down, and free and unrestrained access to our splendid markets afforded for the products of their cheap labor.

I have in my hand the Pottery Gazette, published in London, under date of January 2, 1888, from which I read:

Earthenware is reported to be reduced to 30 per cent. This will help the trade, but we trust the men and masters here will not be too sanguine as to results and upset the trade.

Their information upon the earthenware schedule is quite accurate; they had it in advance of the minority members of the committee, and while thoroughly pleased the editor of the Gazette feels constrained to advise the men and masters not to be too sanguine as to results and thereby upset the trade and defeat the bill. He advises them not to rejoice too soon; the news is almost too good to be true, and too much ecstasy on their part might prejudice it before the American House. Why should they rejoice when our tariff goes down? Our workingmen and employers have no such feeling. They dread it; they oppose it; they know what it means to them. They know that it will benefit the foreign rival and bring distress to them.

The reduction of duties upon earthenware will help Staffordshire, England, and their people know it well, while it will hurt American potters and the labor they employ.

Again I read:

Our American friends are expected over shortly—

They are detained here during the pendency of this bill—

when we shall hear what the effect is to be of the promised alteration in their tariff. The protected manufacturers in the States are already making efforts to stop the reduced imports, but it will be useless.

With what confidence they speak! They mistake the temper of our people. They are staking too much upon the fulfillment of Democratic pledges.

This long nursed and favored class must give way a little to the consumer, whose long suffering has at length come to the front.

The generous sympathy which the English manufacturer has for the American consumer is touching indeed.

The consumers are as ten to one of the United States inhabitants, and the protection to the pottery and glass manufacturer of the commoner description represents the cost of labor many times over.

This reads like the speech of the gentleman from Texas. It sounds so like the Democratic speeches of the last two weeks that we might well conclude that the gentlemen of the majority on this floor were representing an English and not an American constituency.

Again I read:

Is this fair to the housekeeper? Is it right? Nay, is it just?

This sympathy would have been more highly appreciated by the American consumer had it been extended at a time when the Staffordshire potteries controlled the American market, before we had become successful competitors, and when they were charging us 100 per cent. more for the coarse tableware that went into the houses of the masses than we now have to pay, resulting from the competition created by our own potteries. The hope of foreign producers is in the Democratic party.

Foreign producers are already preparing for the new order of things. They are already establishing agencies in the United States, preparing to invade and occupy this market.

I have among my notes a letter from Andris Jochams, of Charleroi, Belgium, proprietors of the La Providence Rolling Mills, which gives unmistakable evidence of preparation for the passage of this bill.

Let me read the letter:

CHARLEROI, *le 14th March, 1888.*

DEAR SIRS: I beg to take notice that we have appointed Messrs. Weir, Smith & Rogers as our sole and general agents in the United States of America for the sale of our architectural iron, as per circular inclosed, and you will oblige us in addressing your demands to them in future.

With the prospect of a reduction in duties on architectural iron and steel in your country we will be soon ready to offer you such advantages in prices and quality that you will find a nice profit in importing from us.

We remain, dear sirs, with much respect, your obedient servant.

ANDRIS JOCHAMS.

MESSRS. WEIR, SMITH & ROGERS, 41 Broadway, New York.

The American public, it will be observed, is assured that "with the prospect of reduction of duties on architectural iron and steel in your country we will be soon ready to offer you such advantages in prices and quality that you will find a nice profit in importing from us." Reduced duties are to increase their profit which, for the time, at least, is to be divided so as to give to the American importer a "nice profit."

TRUSTS.

There has been much discussion about trades and combinations in the course of this debate—trusts to control prices, diminish production, extinguish competition—and these are made a fruitful theme for vicious assaults upon the tariff. This is the only new feature that has been developed in the tariff discussion, and therefore deserves passing attention. I have no sympathy with combinations organized for this or any other purpose, to control the supply and thereby control prices. I regard all such as against public policy and opposed to fair and legitimate trade. They are, however, in no wise related to the tariff, and the tariff is in no way responsible for them.

There is nothing in the tariff laws to promote or even suggest them. They are of foreign origin—they originated in free-trade countries. They can and do exist among producers and factors not in any way affected by the tariff. They are of recent date in the United States. The most widely known trusts of the country are not engaged in what are termed "protected industries." The oil trust and the whisky trust, which are so commanding and powerful, which make prices and alter them, control supply and production, these surely can not be charged to a protective tariff, for nothing which they make or merchandise is subject to protective tariffs. The most oppressive trusts—oppressive to the American consumer—are those which deal in foreign goods, and all of which will be promoted and strengthened by the passage of this bill.

There is a trust or combination made up of all the plate-glass manufacturers of Europe. I have here a circular which is dated London, 25th of April, 1887, and which reads:

DEAR SIR: We beg to inform you that the Associated Plate-Glass Manufacturers have revised their prices for plate-glass of all descriptions, and that, withdrawing all previous quotations, we inclose you herewith our tariff of prices, the discount from which will be 30 per cent., with the exception of glazing glass used for silvering purposes, the discount from which will be 25 per cent.

We are, dear sir, yours, respectfully,

LONDON AND MANCHESTER PLATE-GLASS
MANUFACTURING COMPANY (LIMITED.)
UNION PLATE-GLASS COMPANY (LIMITED.)
PILKINGTON BROTHERS.

A de GRAND REY. AGENCE GÉNÉRALE DES-GLACIERES, *Belges.*

This trust is still in force. Here is a foreign combination to control the price of plate-glass, and the gentlemen on the other side are engaged in making the monopoly more complete and controlling by reducing the import duties now paid on their product and by relieving them of a burden they now have to bear, and thus enabling them to break down American competition, which alone has reduced the price of plate-glass, and now prevents the most extortionate exactions for the foreign product upon American consumers.

Here, again, is an importers' trust in the same line of goods. I read from the New York Herald of February 28 an account of the investigation by the New York Legislature:

THE GLASS TRUST.

Mr. James H. Heroy, an importer of plate and French glass, was next called to tell what he knew about the glass trust. He is a spry old gentleman who has been in the business for fifty years. Colonel Bliss asked the witness to identify a circular. It is a very peculiar circular, and will open the eyes of the public, if not the eyes of the committee. It is as follows:

"HENRY C. MARRINER,

"Plate and sheet-glass importer, No. 126 South Fifth avenue:

"We beg leave to quote you 70, 10, and 5 per cent. discount from the price-list, January 20, 1887, for French window-glass. In case you wish to make any large purchases we can make you extra discounts as follows: If you receive from us or any members of our association in New York (which includes all the regular importers), either all from one house or part from each of the houses, one hundred boxes in one calendar month, you are entitled to an extra discount of 5 per cent.; or if the deliveries to you in any one calendar month from any or all of these houses should amount to \$1,000, then you will be entitled to an extra discount of 10 per cent. This is done, as you will see, to give large purchasers the advantage over small buyers, which they have been long entitled to, but which could not be given to them until we made our present organization to regulate prices.

"This arrangement of rebates takes effect from February 1.

"We can also make deductions from the new price-list of January 5, 1888, for colored, enameled, ground, and cathedral glass, extra discounts, as follows:

"For orders of twenty cases or 2,000 feet or more at one time, 10 per cent. discount.

"For import orders of 7,500 feet or more of cathedral and one hundred cases or more colored, enameled, and ground glass we will make special prices, according to the conditions of the order.

"Yours, very truly,

"HEROY & MARRINER."

NOTHING DONE IN A HURRY.

There was no doubt about the intention of that trust. Mr. Heroy said "it was simply" to make prices below which they would not sell their goods. At the last meeting he attended he thought it was the desire of the combination to reduce prices, and added, "We have not yet decided what to do in the case of a man who undersells us. We do not decide these things in a hurry. As a result of the combination prices have advanced. I can't tell exactly the amount of the business done. It is largely exaggerated, but including all branches, it is about \$20,000,000."

I have also in my possession a copy of the trust contract. Not content with making this combination among themselves, they sought in every way possible to induce our American producers of plate-glass to join them and assist in fleecing the American public.

There is a foreign trust on china and earthen ware. I have the evidence here in the London Pottery Gazette of March 10, 1888, from which I read:

If any manufacturers are not true to the rules of the new association the bond they will have signed will enable their fellow-manufacturers to sell them up "rump and stump." Nothing but the state of dire necessity into which the trade has fallen would tempt men to put their hands to such a bond. The scheme has just been successful with the china manufacturers. They have just obtained a second advance.

If the keen buyers who always want to beggar the trade and reduce prices

say to a manufacturer who will not sell at lower than the fixed rate, "Well, if I am forced to pay the association price I will not buy from you," such manufacturer can reply, "All right; if you buy from another, and I have to stand for orders, I shall get my pull out of your business, for our rules will not let me suffer through refusing to reduce at your request." So you see one manufacturer can not be played off against the others.

There is a foreign tin trust and a foreign iron trust to control prices and deprive the public of the advantages of legitimate competition. All these are to be benefited by this bill. Its author should change its title so as to make it read, "An act to promote foreign trusts and combines and break down American competition." We should set our faces against all these unnatural associations. We should crush out those at home, and do nothing to encourage those abroad who organize to prey upon the American market. We can control the former, but the latter, while robbing our own citizens, are beyond our control and out of our jurisdiction.

PROTECTION SENTIMENT EXTENDING.

Mr. Chairman, while the Democratic majority, aided by the active force of the Administration, is seeking to break pown the protective system, under which we have realized such unexampled prosperity, what do we witness elsewhere and in other countries? Within the last six months there was held a great meeting in England, representing thirty thousand workingmen. The meeting was called to consider the depressed condition of labor, and to demand such a change of the fiscal legislation as would abandon free trade in the United Kingdom and adopt a protective tariff. They resolved—

First. That this meeting is strongly of opinion that the time has come when all classes interested in the nation's prosperity should unite in demanding a revision of its fiscal system.

Second. That this meeting records its opinion that all articles imported from abroad should bear a fair share of taxation with the same articles produced at home.

These resolutions, with a suitable memorial, were presented to the British Parliament. In the same month the Chamber of Commerce of Lincolnshire, England, adopted the following resolutions:

That this meeting is of opinion that the fearful depression both of trade and agriculture are intimately connected with, and both are caused by, foreign competition, resulting in low prices, which are affecting all the industries of this country; that false free trade is a failure obtained at the expense of the native producer. This meeting, therefore, begs to urge of their representatives in Parliament and the Government the necessity of speedily taking measures to prevent the ruin impending over trade, and especially over the land of this country and all concerned in it, either as owners, cultivators, or tradesmen, and that a reconsideration should at once take place of our present fiscal arrangement.

The working people of England find that competition with countries employing cheaper labor too oppressive to bear longer, and are demanding in the interest of themselves and families to be saved from the further degradation it will entail. It is not American competition they dread; it is the competition of France, Germany, and Belgium—countries whose labor is even more poorly paid than the labor of England. They have come to appreciate at last that nothing but tariffs which are defensive in their character will save them from utter ruin and destitution. We will be in precisely the same situation if this bill shall become a law. Our competition is with all the world, for no labor is so well paid as ours, and being the highest paid labor invites the sharpest competition from the lowest. We will have no objection to free trade when all the competing nations shall bring the level of their labor up to ours; when they shall accept our standard; when they shall regard the toiler as a man and not a slave; but we will never consent while we have votes

and the power to prevent the dragging down of our labor to that of the European standard. [Applause.] Let them elevate theirs; let them bring theirs up to our level, and we will then have no contention about revenue or protective tariffs. We will meet them in open field, in home and neutral markets, upon equal footing, and the fittest will survive. [Applause.] This is no time to seriously think of changing our policy. The best sentiment, the practical judgment of mankind, is turning to it. Sir Charles Tupper said a year ago in the Canadian House of Commons:

No person who has carefully watched the progress of public events and public opinion can fail to know that a very great and marked change has taken place in all countries, I may say, in relation to this question (protection). * * * In England, where it was a heresy to intimate anything of that kind a few years ago, even at the period to which I am referring, a great and marked change in public opinion has taken place. Professor Sidgewick, a learned Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and professor of moral philosophy in that great university, and the gentleman who read at the meeting of the British Association in 1886 a paper on political economy, has published a work in which opinions that would have been denounced as utterly fallacious and heretical at that time have been boldly propounded as the soundest and truest principles of political economy. * * * Statesmen of the first rank, men occupying high and commanding positions in public affairs in England, have unhesitatingly committed themselves to the strongest opinion in favor of fair protection to British industry.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

Why, even Canada, a dependency of free-trade England, is too wise to favor the false doctrines of her mother, and has rejected her teachings, and to-day is prosperous under a protective system, which she in the main borrowed from us. I wish every citizen might read the budget speech of the minister of finance in Canada, and contrast it with that of my honored but misguided friend from Texas. On the 12th of May, 1887, in the Commons, Sir Charles Tupper, in speaking of a previous period in the history of Canada under free trade, said:

When the languishing industries of Canada embarrassed the finance minister of that day, when instead of large surplus large deficits succeeded year after year, the opposition urged upon that honorable gentleman that he should endeavor to give increased protection to the industries of Canada, which would prevent them from thus languishing and being destroyed. We were not successful—I will not say in leading the honorable gentleman himself to the conclusion that that would be a sound policy, for I have some reason to believe that he had many a misgiving on that question—but at all events we were not able to change the policy of the gentleman who then ruled the destinies of Canada. As is well known, that became the great issue at the subsequent general election of 1878, and the Conservative party being returned to power, pledged to promote and foster the industries of Canada as far as they were able, brought down a policy through the hands of my honored predecessor, Sir Leonard Tilley, * * * and I have no hesitation in saying that the success of that policy thus propounded and matured from time to time has been such as to command the support and confidence of a large portion of the people of this country down to the present day.

Under this system he proceeds to show that Canada has enjoyed a prosperity the like of which she never enjoyed before, and then, instead of recommending a reduction of duties, proposes the increase of duties upon certain foreign merchandise, to the end that Canadian industries may be fostered thereby.

Here is what the gentleman from Texas, our premier, says. Mark the contrast:

Now, sir, what has been the result of this policy [of protection]? Enormous taxation upon the necessities of life has been a constant drain upon the people; taxation, not only to support the expenditures of the Government, but taxation so contrived as to fill the pockets of a privileged class and take from the people five dollars for private purposes for every dollar that it carries to the public Treasury. * * * This is one of the vicious results, etc. * * * What use

have our manufacturers for the tariff at all? Why are they constantly beseeching Congress not to ruin them by reducing war rates? * * * It is a policy that is at war with the institutions of this country—the concentration of the wealth of the country in the hands of a few.

My friend has not read with profit or purpose the history of his country. Wedded to the economic teachings of Calhoun and Walker, he has not observed their contradiction and refutation in the matchless progress of his country. He still lives in the past. The condition of his own State, her boundless resources, appeal to him, but her voice, if heard, is not heeded. He seeks to throw across her pathway and the pathway of the Republic the tattered dogmas of a half century ago and stop the wheels of progress, interrupt our advancing civilization, and stifle the just aspirations of the people. The country is in no frame of mind for such retrogression; against it every instinct of humanity revolts, every noble sentiment protests.

If the people of the country want free trade or a strictly revenue tariff it is their privilege to have it. The majority voice should be controlling, but it must be after a full, fair, and candid expression. I do not believe that a majority in this House were instructed by their constituents to vote for this bill or any other committed to the doctrine of free trade. If the issue had been so understood many of the gentlemen who are promoting this legislation would not be here. I do not believe the country understood in 1886 that if the Democratic party carried a majority in the House it would do what is now being proposed. How many Representatives on that side of the House would have been left at home upon a platform favoring free wool and substantially free agricultural products? More by far than your majority.

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON THE ISSUE BETWEEN A REVENUE TARIFF AND A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

The opportunity of the people of this country is next November. If they want free trade they can so vote, but they must have it after full discussion. The majority now on the floor of this House were not instructed by the elections in 1886 to vote for this bill; there was no such issue. Wherever we sought to make it the issue it was obscured or denied by Democratic protectionists in the North. Nobody knows that better than the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the friend of labor. [Laughter.]

The House of Representative, I say, was not elected upon that issue. I challenge your party, under the instructions given you by the people two years ago, to force this measure through the House.

Mr. SCOTT. Will the gentleman allow me——

Mr. MCKINLEY. Certainly.

Mr. SCOTT. I voted for the consideration of the Morrison bill; and my people sent me back here by double my previous majority.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I am aware of that; I had not intended to allude to the gentleman at all. A man who has under his control thirty or forty thousand miles of railroad; a man who has coal mines all over creation; a man who has great plantations down here in Virginia, must be a very weak candidate, indeed, if he can not come to Congress in an off year on almost any issue. [Laughter.]

Mr. SCOTT. I have been a Democrat all my life; and in a Presidential year I was elected to this House in a district which gave Mr. Blaine 6,000 majority, and gave me 900. [Applause.]

Mr. MCKINLEY. I am very glad if the gentleman made the issue on free trade; but if he did, he is the only man in the North who did

so. And when he was elected in 1884, he had not voted for the Morrison bill; had you [addressing Mr. SCOTT]?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. McKINLEY. Did you vote for the Morrison bill before 1884?

Mr. SCOTT. I voted for the Morrison bill before my people elected me for my second term.

Mr. McKINLEY. But you had not done so before being elected the first time.

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Mr. McKINLEY. You were boasting of the immense majority you had in 1884, when Mr. Blaine was a candidate.

Mr. SCOTT. No. The gentleman from Ohio said that I was elected in an "off year." I replied that I had been a Democrat all my life, and that in a Presidential campaign, when Mr. Blaine carried my district by 6,000 majority, I was elected by a majority of 900; and at the next election, after I had voted for the Morrison bill, I carried the district by double the majority that I had received before. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. McKINLEY. What I cannot understand is this: If the gentleman's district believes in free-trade and is against protection, how did it happen to give 6,000 majority for Mr. Blaine? [Applause.]

Go back to the people and ask to be returned on this bill and the President's message; do not dodge or equivocate, but stand up to the issue squarely, make your platform in Connecticut the same as in the Carolinas, in New York and New Jersey, the same as Mississippi and Georgia; and then if your majority is returned you will be commissioned to adopt this bill or something like unto it, abandoning the American for the British policy. [Applause.] The details at this time can be of little moment. This bill points to the overthrow of the protective system; that is its tendency and mission.

It is the system which is on trial; not one item or one schedule of the tariff, but the principle upon which the whole rests. Nothing which that side of the House can do or will do touching the tariff can be other than hurtful. If it corrected a single abuse or inequality or incongruity it will be at the expense and sacrifice of many great interests. It is destruction, not correction you are after. When your bill levels at all it levels down. When it equalizes articles belonging to the same group and family, representing the same raw material and the same amount of labor, its equality is with the lowest. It does not help that which bears the lowest duty, but destroys that which bears the highest. It injures the whole that it may put the whole upon the same footing. It gives no consideration or protection to a single home industry or American product, except probably cotton and rice. It puts no languishing American industry on its feet; it sets in motion no idlespindles; it starts no new fires; it creates no increased demand for labor; if an industry is down it keeps it there, its very breath is paralyzation, it injures what it touches and touches that it may injure. [Great applause.]

If the tariff needs revision—and in some particulars revision would improve it—it must be done by its friends and in full recognition of the principle of protection. It must be done by a party with courage enough to raise duties if needed and reduce them if unnecessarily, and with wisdom enough to foresee and provide against redundant revenue, and in correcting inequalities prudent enough to inflict no injury upon any, but bring good to all. That is the correction of inequalities to which the Republican party pledged itself in its national plat-

form of 1884, and for the fulfillment of which it has not since then had a majority in the House to enforce. If it had it would have long ago been done. It will do it when it is again in control. Not correction which destroys, but which makes simple, harmonious, and equitable all of the provisions of the tariff.

It is fortunate that our Government is founded upon the consent of the governed, that every citizen has a voice in making and unmaking the House of Representatives every two years, and even if he is deprived in the interim of a hearing there is one day when he can speak and vote and make his influence felt [applause]; for I tell you, Mr. Chairman, if the workmen were without the ballot we would have free trade within twelve months, and their protests and ours would be as idle as the wind which none of us heed. Fortunately for them they have a vote, and if they fail to use it for their homes, and their fire-sides, and their families they will show much less manhood, independence, intelligence, and righteous resentment than I am sure they possess. It was the ballot in the hands of labor to be used next November which kept coal and iron ore from being placed on the free-list in this bill, and unless the majority is reversed in this body and the Fifty-first Congress placed under Republican control these products, with others of equal importance, will be stricken from the dutiable and placed upon the free-list. This is only the initial step. The chairman of the committee has so declared. Listen to his words found in his opening speech:

We should lay taxes to obtain revenue, but not restrict importations. * * *
We should place every material of manufacture on the free-list. * * *

This is the proclamation made by the premier of this body; this is in direct line with the President's message; this is the plan, the policy, and the purpose of the Democratic party. The elections once safely over, the party now in control again invested with power, and the work will go on to the end. The Democratic patriots and protectionists must get out of the way. Even Democrats who believe that protection is "a local issue," and as such worth maintaining, must not further interrupt the procession. You saw an exhibition of the spirit this morning [laughter], when the generous courtesy of my friend from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] saved his party from a most unfortunate embarrassment. The hope of the country, Mr. Chairman, is in the ballot. The future, and, as I conceive, the welfare and progress of the Republic, the future condition of the wage-earners depends upon the issue to be settled in November. American citizens who love their country must be on guard on that day of supreme concern; it is their day, their one great opportunity. Parties must be subordinated to the great interests of the masses. No party necessity is great enough to force its adherents against its country's best interests. I care not what in the future may be the party name which stands for this system, which stands for the people, I will follow its flag under whatever designation or leadership, because it is my country's flag and represents its greatness and its glory.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I conclude and thank you for your kind attention and for the generous indulgence of the House. [Long and continued applause, and cries of "Vote!"]

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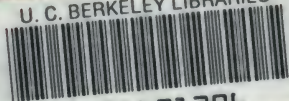
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